THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY & DIARIES OF SI-TU PAṆ-CHEN

edited by

LOKESH CHANDRA

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with a foreword by

E. GENE SMITH

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N O P Q R S

spec'ta·cle (spĕk'tȧ·k'l; -tĭ·k'l), *n.* [OF., fr. L. *spectaculum*, fr. *spectare* to look at, to behold, v. intens. fr. *specere*. See SPY.] **1.** Something exhibited to view; usually, something exhibited as unusual and notable; a remarkable or noteworthy sight; impressive display, esp. for entertainment.
To add *spectacle* and music to action. *Cibber.*
2. Specif., a public display appealing, or intended to appeal, to the eye by its mass, proportions, color, etc.; as, a great dramatic *spectacle;* a naval *spectacle.*
3. *Obs.* **a** A spyglass; a glass for seeing; also, a mirror. *Chaucer.* **b** A pattern; example; model.
4. *pl.* A device to aid vision or protect the eyes from glare, dust, etc., consisting usually of two lenses supported by a bridge resting on, or fastened to, the nose, and by curved sidepieces (bows) passing over the ears. Cf. EYEGLASS, 1.
5. *pl.* Hence, figuratively, an aid to the intellectual sight; also, sometimes, a bias; a view colored by prejudice; as, to see events through rosy *spectacles.*
6. *sing. or pl.* Any of various things suggesting a pair of spectacles in shape, as the frame containing the red and green glasses in a semaphore (see SEMAPHORE, *Illust.*).
7. *pl.* *Naut.* A spectacle iron.
Syn. — Show, sight, exhibition, representation, pageant.
spec'ta·cle, *v. t.* To look at or examine through spectacles.
spectacle coot. Surf scoter. *U.S.*
spec'ta·cled (spĕk'tȧ·k'ld; -tĭ·k'ld), *adj.* **1.** Having or wearing spectacles.
2. *Paleog.* Suggesting spectacles; — applied to the first form of Glagolitic, characterized by a tendency to round loops.
3. *Zool.* Having on the face color markings, or patches of naked skin, suggesting a pair of spectacles.
spectacled bear. A bear (*Tremarctos ornatus*) of the Andes Mountains.
spectacled cobra. Cobra de capello.
spectacled coot *or* **duck.** The surf scoter. *U.S.*
spectacled eider. See EIDER, 1.
spectacled goose. The common gannet. *Eng.*
spectacled pelican. See PELICAN, 1 a.
spectacle frame. *Shipbuilding.* In twin-screw vessels having the stern bossed out to surround both shafts, a frame at or near the sternposts through which both shafts pass.
spectacle furnace. A German shaft furnace with two tapholes.
spectacle iron. *Naut.* An iron clew. See CLEW, *n.*, 4 b.
spec'ta·cles (spĕk'tȧ·k'lz; -tĭ·k'lz), *n. pl.* = SPECTACLE, *n.*, 4.
spectacle stone. *Archaeol.* Any of the ancient monumental stones of Scotland ornamented with connected or overlapping disks, or rude spirals, probably of Celtic origin.
spec·tac'u·lar (spĕk·tăk'ū·lẽr), *adj.* **1.** Of, pertaining to, or of the nature of, a spectacle or show; adapted or intended to excite wonder and admiration by unusual display, as of pomp or scenic effects; as, a *spectacular* play.
2. Pertaining to spectacles for the eyes. *Rare.*
—**spec·tac'u·lar'i·ty** (-lăr'ĭ·tĭ), *n.* — **spec·tac'u·lar·ly,** *adv.*
spec·tac'u·lar, *n.* That which appeals to the eye as a spectacle; an unusual display, as of pomp or scenery; an action or a sight of a sensational nature; as, he was ever a lover of the *spectacular.*
spec·tac'u·lar·ism (spĕk·tăk'ū·lẽr·ĭz'm), *n.* Quality or state of being spectacular; spectacularity.
spec·ta'tor (spĕk·tā'tẽr; spĕk'tā·tẽr), *n.* [L.; cf. F. *spectateur.* See SPECTACLE.] One who looks on or beholds; a beholder; esp., one witnessing any exhibition, as a play; — often [*cap.*] used in titles of periodicals.
Syn. — Observer, witness. See LOOKER-ON.
Spec·ta'tor, The. A periodical, composed chiefly of short essays, published daily by Steele and Addison from March 1, 1711, till Dec. 6, 1712, and revived briefly in 1714. Its chief imaginary author was ***Mr. Spectator.*** See SIR ROGER DE COVERLEY.
Spectator Club. The imaginary club which professed to edit *The Spectator.* The members are Mr. Spectator, Sir Roger de Coverley, a member of the Inner Temple, Sir Andrew Freeport, Captain Sentry, Will Honeycomb, and a clergyman, "a very philosophic man, of general learning, great sanctity of life, and the most exact good breeding."
spec'ta·to'ri·al (spĕk'tȧ·tō'rĭ·ăl; 181), *adj.* Of or pertaining to a spectator, esp. to *The Spectator;* also, having to do with a spectacle, or showy display.
spec·ta'to·ry (spĕk·tā'tō·rĭ), *n.* A part of a building set apart for spectators; also, a body of spectators.
spec·ta'tress (spĕk·tā'trĕs; -trĭs; 119), *n.* Also **spec·ta'trix** (-trĭks). [L. *spectatrix.*] A female spectator.
spec'ter, spec'tre (spĕk'tẽr), *n.* [F. *spectre*, fr. L. *spectrum* an appearance, image, specter, fr. *specere* to look. See SPY; cf. SPECTRUM.] **1.** A visible disembodied spirit; an apparition; ghost; phantom. *Dryden.*
2. Hence, a vision of the imagination suggesting a ghost, esp. as inspiring fear; a phantasm.
3. a A walking stick (insect). **b** A specter crab or specter shrimp.
Syn. — See GHOST.
☞ COMBINATIONS (all adjectives) are:

specter-fighting	specter-looking	specter-staring
specter-haunted	specter-mongering	specter-thin
specterlike	specter-pallid	specter-wan

specter bat. Any phyllostome bat; esp., *Vampyrum spectrum.* See VAMPIRE.
specter candle. A belemnite.
specter crab. A glass crab.
spec'tered, spec'tred (spĕk'tẽrd), *adj.* Peopled with specters. *Rare.*
specter lemur. The tarsier.
specter of the Brocken. = BROCKEN SPECTER.
specter shrimp. A skeleton shrimp.
spec'tral (spĕk'trăl), *adj.* **1.** Of, like, or pertaining to, a specter; ghostly; insubstantial; phantom. "The *spectral* form of evil." *F. W. Robertson.*
2. Of or pertaining to a spectrum; made by the spectrum; as, *spectral* analysis.
— **spec·tral'i·ty** (spĕk·trăl'ĭ·tĭ), **spec'tral·ness,** *n.* — **spec'tral·ly,** *adv.*
spectral bat. A specter bat.
spectral centroid. *Colorimetry.* The wave length of the center of gravity of the area under the luminosity curve. Mathematically, it is the integral of the product of energy by visibility by wave length divided by the integral of the product of energy by visibility.
spectral color. A color of spectral hue; a color which can be matched by one evoked by a mixture of homogeneous spectral light and neutral light. Cf. COLOR, *n.*, 2.
spectral distribution. *Colorimetry.* A function expressing, analytically or graphically, the relation between radiant energy (or light, etc.) and wave length or frequency.
spec'tral·ism (spĕk'trăl·ĭz'm), *n.* A ghostly sight; a phantasm. *Rare.*
spectral lemur. The tarsier.
spectral owl. The great gray owl. See GRAY OWL.
spectral series. *Physics.* A group of lines in the spectrum of a substance whose wave lengths (or frequencies) are related mathematically. The spectrum of any element may contain a number of series, all the lines of any one series having the same general physical properties. Thus, the spectrum of an alkali, as sodium, contains a principal, first subordinate, and second subordinate series. The principal series contains the prominent lines, mostly in the visible spectrum; the first subordinate series contains diffused lines; the second subordinate series contains the sharp lines. Cf. BALMER'S FORMULA.
spectral shift. See RED SHIFT.
spectral type. *Astrophysics.* A type of star determined by the similarities of the spectra of its members. Older spectral classifications, such as Lockyer's, which divided stars into those of rising and those of falling temperature, and Secchi's, which classified them roughly, according to the predominant color of their spectra, as blue, white, yellow, and red stars, have been superseded by the more accurate system developed at Harvard University since 1885. The Harvard classification, based on variations in the relative intensity of certain selected lines of the spectra, designates the various spectral types by the letters O, B, A, F, G, K, M, R, N, most stars falling in one of the types given in the table below. Within each type, the stars are graded by adding numbers decimally; — thus, the sun is spectral type G0. The spectrum of giant stars is designated by prefixing "g" to the type letter; of dwarfs, by prefixing "d"; of supergiants, by prefixing "c"; — thus, Arcturus is type gK0; Procyon, type dF5. Cf. 1st STAR, 1; DRAPER CATALOGUE.

TABLE OF COMMONEST SPECTRAL TYPES

Type	Temperature	Color	Spectrum	Average Radial Velocity
B	16,000° C.	Blue	H and He	6 miles per second
A	11,000° C.	White	Hydrogen	6 " " "
F	8,000° C.	Pale yellow	Metals	8 " " "
G	6,000° C.	Yellow	Metals	9 " " "
K	3,500° C.	Reddish	Metals & compounds	9 " " "
M	2,700° C.	Red	Bands & compounds	10 " " "

spec'tro- (spĕk'trō-). A combining form for *spectrum*, denoting, *pertaining to radiant energy* or *the analysis of radiation in a spectrum*, as in **spec'tro·chem'i·cal, spec'tro·chem'is·try, spec'tro·pho'to·graph, spec'tro·pho·tog'ra·phy, spec'tro·tel'e·scope.**
spec'tro-. Combining form for *specter*, as in *spectro*phobia.
spec'tro·bo'lo·graph (-bō'lō·grăf; 83), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *bolograph.*] A photographic registration of the bands, or lines, in the infrared spectrum. — **spec'tro·bo'lo·graph'ic** (-grăf'ĭk), *adj.*
spec'tro·bo·lom'e·ter (-bō·lŏm'ē·tẽr), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *bolometer.*] *Physics.* A combination of spectroscope and bolometer for determining the distribution of energy in a spectrum. — **spec'tro·bo'lo·met'ric** (-bō'lō·mĕt'rĭk), *adj.*
spec'tro·chem'i·cal a·nal'y·sis (-kĕm'ĭ·kăl). *Physics.* An analysis of a mixture of substances or of a complex substance by a spectroscopic study of the light emitted when the former is placed in an arc or used as an electrode in a spark.
spec'tro·col'or·im'e·try (-kŭl'ẽr·ĭm'ē·trĭ), *n.* *Physics.* Quantitative study or color, usually for chemical analysis, by means of the spectrophotometer.
spec'tro·com'pa·ra'tor (-kŏm'pȧ·rā'tẽr), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *comparator.*] *Astrophysics.* An instrument employing the optical arrangement of the stereocomparator (which see), but used for the comparison and measurement of spectra.
spec'tro·e·lec'tric (-ē·lĕk'trĭk), *adj.* Pertaining to or designating any form of spark tube the electric discharge within which is used in spectroscopic observations.
spec'tro·gram (spĕk'trō·grăm), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *-gram.*] *Physics.* A photograph, map, or diagram of a spectrum.
spec'tro·graph (-grăf; 83), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *-graph.*] *Physics.* **a** An apparatus for photographing or mapping a spectrum. **b** A photograph or picture of a spectrum. — **spec'tro·graph'ic** (-grăf'ĭk), *adj.* — **spec'tro·graph'i·cal·ly** (-ĭ·kăl·ĭ), *adv.* — **spec·trog'ra·phy** (spĕk·trŏg'rȧ·fĭ), *n.*
spec'tro·he'li·o·gram' (-hē'lĭ·ō·grăm'), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *helio-* + *-gram.*] *Astrophysics.* A photograph of the sun made by monochromatic light, usually of the calcium line K, and showing the sun's faculae and prominences.
spec'tro·he'li·o·graph' (-grăf'; 83), *n.* *Astrophysics.* An apparatus for making spectroheliograms, consisting of a spectroscopic camera used in combination with a telescope, and provided with clockwork for moving the sun's image across the slit. — **spec'tro·he'li·o·graph'ic** (-grăf'ĭk), *adj.*
spec'tro·he'li·o·scope' (-hē'lĭ·ō·skōp'), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *helio-* + *-scope.*] *Astrophysics.* Usually, the spectroheliograph; more properly, a similar instrument used for visual, as distinguished from photographic, observations.
spec·trol'o·gy (spĕk·trŏl'ō·jĭ), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *-logy.*] The science of spectrum analysis. — **spec'tro·log'i·cal** (spĕk'trō·lŏj'ĭ·kăl), *adj.* — **spec'tro·log'i·cal·ly,** *adv.*
spec·trol'o·gy (spĕk·trŏl'ō·jĭ), *n.* [2d *spectro-* + *-logy.*] The study of specters. *Irving.*
spec·trom'e·ter (spĕk·trŏm'ē·tẽr), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *-meter.*] *Physics.* **a** An instrument, resembling the reflection goniometer, used in determining the index of refraction by measuring the external angle of a prism of the substance and also its angle of minimum deviation for light of a given kind. **b** A spectroscope fitted for measurements of the spectra observed with it.

Spectrometer. 1 Prism; 2 Telescope; 3 Eyepiece; 4 Collimator; 5, 5 Magnifying Glasses for reading verniers.

spec·trom'e·try (-trĭ), *n.* *Physics.* Art or process of using the spectrometer, or of measuring wave lengths of rays of a spectrum. — **spec'tro·met'ric** (spĕk'trō·mĕt'rĭk), *adj.*
spec'tro·mi'cro·scope (spĕk'trō·mī'krō·skōp), *n.* A microscope with a spectroscopic attachment. Cf. MICROSPECTROSCOPE. — **spec'tro·mi'cro·scop'i·cal** (-skŏp'ĭ·kăl), *adj.*
spec'tro·pho'bi·a (spĕk'trō·fō'bĭ·ȧ), *n.* Also **spec'tro·pho'by** (spĕk'trō·fō'bĭ). [NL. *spectrophobia*, fr. 2d *spectro-* + *-phobia.*] Fear of specters, or phantoms.
spec'tro·phone (spĕk'trō·fōn), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *-phone.*] An instrument constructed on the principle of the photophone and used in spectrum analysis as an adjunct to the spectroscope. — **spec'tro·phon'ic** (-fŏn'ĭk), *adj.*
spec'tro·pho'to·e·lec'tric (spĕk'trō·fō'tō·ē·lĕk'trĭk), *adj.* [1st *spectro-* + *photoelectric.*] *Physics.* Varying in photoelectric sensitiveness according to the wave length of the exciting light.
spec'tro·pho·tom'e·ter (-fō·tŏm'ē·tẽr), *n.* *Optics.* An instrument for comparing the intensities of the corresponding colors of two spectra.
spec'tro·pho·tom'e·try (-trĭ), *n.* **a** The art of comparing, photometrically, the brightness of two spectra, wave length by wave length; the use of the spectrophotometer. **b** The visual measurement of relative radiant energy as a function of wave length. — **spec'tro·pho'to·met'ric** (-fō'tō·mĕt'rĭk), *adj.* — **-pho'to·met'ri·cal·ly** (-rĭ·kăl·ĭ), *adv.*
spec'tro·po'lar·im'e·ter (-pō'lẽr·ĭm'ē·tẽr), *n.* *Optics.* A combined spectroscope and polarimeter for determining the rotatory power of solutions.
spec'tro·po·lar'i·scope (-pō·lăr'ĭ·skōp), *n.* A combined spectroscope and polariscope; a spectropolarimeter.
spec'tro·pyr·he'li·om'e·ter (-pīr·hē'lĭ·ŏm'ē·tẽr; -pĭr-), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *pyrheliometer.*] *Physics.* A form of instrument for measuring the energy distribution in the visible and ultraviolet spectrum of emitted radiation from the sun.
spec'tro·py·rom'e·ter (-pī·rŏm'ē·tẽr), *n.* *Optics.* An instrument for optical or spectrophotometric estimation of the temperature of incandescent substances.
spec'tro·ra'di·om'e·ter (-rā'dĭ·ŏm'ē·tẽr), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *radiometer.*] *Physics.* A form of instrument for measuring the energy distribution of emitted radiation. It is a combination of a spectroscope and radiometer.
spec'tro·ra'di·om'e·try (-trĭ), *n.* *Physics.* The use of the spectroradiometer in the study of radiant energy. — **spec'tro·ra'di·o·met'ric** (-ō·mĕt'rĭk), *adj.*
spec'tro·scope (spĕk'trō·skōp), *n.* [1st *spectro-* + *-scope.*] *Physics.* An optical instrument, variously used, for forming spectra, as that of solar light, or those produced by flames in which different substances are volatilized. The three essential parts of the spectroscope are: (1) a dispersive instrument, as a prism or grating; (2) a narrow rectangular slit parallel to the edge of the prism, or to the rulings of the grating; (3) a lens or concave mirror to focus the dispersed images of the slit on a photographic plate or in the eyepiece of the instrument. In a common form (***prism spectroscope***) the light is decomposed by a single prism (see *Illust.*). In the ***direct-vision spectroscope*** three or more prisms are combined so as to obtain dispersion without deviation. The earliest spectroscope was a prism and observations of the sun's spectrum were made by Newton in 1672. Real advance in spectroscopy only dates from the invention (1814) of the diffraction grating by Joseph von Fraunhofer (1787–1826) by means of which he measured wave lengths of light. The concave grating was invented later by Henry Augustus Rowland (1848–1901), American physicist. See GRATING, 3; ECHELON, 3.
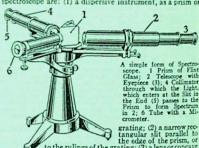
Diagram of a form of Direct-vision Spectroscope. 1 Slit; 2 Lens; 3 Amici Prism; 4 Eyepiece.

A simple form of Spectroscope. 1 Prism of Flint Glass; 2 Telescope with Eyepiece (3); 4 Collimator through which the Light, which enters at the Slit in the End (5) passes to the Prism to form Spectrum in 2; 6 Tube with a Micrometer.

spec'tro·scope, *v. t.* To investigate by means of a spectroscope.
spec'tro·scop'ic (-skŏp'ĭk), *adj.* Also **spec'tro·scop'i·cal** (-ĭ·kăl). Of or pertaining to, or produced by, a spectroscope, or spectroscopy; treating of, or concerned with, spectroscopy. — **spec'tro·scop'i·cal·ly,** *adv.*
spectroscopic binary. *Astron.* A star appearing single in a telescope, but shown spectroscopically to be binary, through periodic changes in its radial velocity. See BINARY STAR.
spectroscopic resolving power. *Optics.* The power of a grating or prism to resolve two beams of light of nearly the same wave length so that, when focused, they will produce two images which may be recognized as distinct.
spec·tros'co·py (spĕk·trŏs'kō·pĭ; spĕk'trō·skō'pĭ), *n.* The production and investigation of spectra; the use of the spectroscope; also, the science of spectroscopic phenomena. — **spec·tros'co·pist** (-pĭst), *n.*
spec'trum (spĕk'trŭm), *n.; pl.* -TRA (-trȧ), -TRUMS (-trŭmz). [L. See SPECTER.] **1.** An apparition; specter.
2. *Physics.* The series of images formed when a beam of radiant energy is subjected to dispersion and then brought to focus, so that the component waves are arranged in the order of their wave lengths (see SPECTROSCOPE); hence, any series of radiant energies arranged in order of wave length (***physical spectrum***). A ***gamma-ray spectrum*** has wave lengths of 0.07 to 1.03 angstroms or less; an ***X-ray spectrum***, wave lengths of 0.1 to 1.50 or slightly greater; an ***ultraviolet spectrum***, wave lengths much greater than the latter but less than 3,800; a ***visible***, or ***ocular, spectrum***, wave lengths between 3,800 and 8,000; an ***infrared spectrum***, wave lengths greater than 8,000 angstroms but not more than 0.03 centi-

Spectrum, 2. Solar Ray of Light, separated by a Prism into the seven principal colors of Newton. *a* Incident Ray of Light; *p* Prism; *cd* Spectrum; *v* Violet; *i* Indigo; *b* Blue; *g* Green; *y* Yellow; *o* Orange; *r* Red.

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specs (spĕks). Short for *spectacles.* *Colloq.*
spect'a·ble (spĕk'tȧ·b'l), *adj.* [L. *spectabilis;* cf. OF. *spectable.*] Visible; also, sightly. *Obs.*
spec'ta·cl. Spectacle. *Ref. Sp.*
spec'ta·cld. Spectacled. *Ref. Sp.*
spec'ta·cle·less, *adj.* See -LESS.
spec'ta·cle·like', *adj.* See -LIKE.
spec'ta·cle·mak'er, *n.* See MAKER. — **spec'ta·cle·mak'ing,** *n.* & *adj.*
spec'ta·cls. Spectacles. *Ref. Sp.*
spec'tate (spĕk'tāt), *v. t. & i.* [L. *spectatus*, past part. of *spectare* to look at.] To behold; look (at). — **spec·ta'tion,** *n.* *Obs.*
spec·ta'tor·dom, *n.* See -DOM.
spec·ta'tor·ship, *n.* See -SHIP.
spec'tion·eer'. Var. of SPECKSIONEER.
spec'tra, *n., pl.* of SPECTRUM.
spec'tre. Var. of SPECTER.
spec'trous (spĕk'trŭs), *adj.* SPECTRAL.

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आचार्य-रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां
(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीना)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-
सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

INTRODUCTION

Prof. Lokesh Chandra has noted that Si-tu was the last of the great Tibetan lotsāvas: "It is remarkable that when the art of the lotsāva was a matter of history, yet there lingered in Si-tu the aura of the lotsāva."[1] In this volume of the Śata-piṭaka he gives us the long awaited facsimile edition of the autobiography and diaries of Si-tu.

Si-tu was unusual in that he sought to go back to the sources of Tibetan learning, the Sanskrit tradition of Bharat. While one can cite a number of isolated cases of Sanskrit pandits visiting Tibet and Tibetan scholars setting out from their native land in search of learning after the beginning of the 15th century, the impact of the Indic tradition had largely been spent by 1400. Tibetans seemed to have lost the motivation and persistence to master Sanskrit and its taxing scholastic discipline. By the beginning of the 15th century, the Tibetans were already in possession of an enormous corpus of translated scholarship and magic. The overwhelming majority of Tibetan scholars were content to study the existing translations and bilingual editions with the Sanskrit rendered into Tibetan letters. The *rañjanā, vartula* and a few other Indian scripts continued to be studied; but the use of these scripts was largely confined to ornamentation of book titles and works of art. The systematic study of Sanskrit as a language had been replaced by drudging memorization of Tibetan commentaries of Tibetan commentaries. The glorious spark which contact with Indian culture gives was absent. Prof. Tucci has examined some of the Sanskrit verses of the 5th Dalai Lama and has come to the conclusion that whatever other subjects the Great Fifth knew, Sanskrit was not one of them[2].

For the Indian pandits the period of the Muslim invasions with its chaos and persecution was largely over. There was no longer that compelling stimulus to flee from probable slaughter to an uncertain fate in the mountains of Tibet. The second and greatest transmission of Indic civilization to Tibet (11th-14th centuries) resulted from a coincidence. Hindu civilization was faced with a monumental crisis at a time when Tibet was at the beginning of a period of maximum cultural receptivity. It was this fortunate accident that produced modern Tibetan civilization.

[1] *The Amarakoṣa in Tibet*, New Delhi, 1965, p. 14.

[2] Tucci, G., The Fifth Dalai Lama as a Sanskrit Scholar, *Sino-Indian Studies* II.3, 4, Liebenthal Festschrift, pp. 235 ff.

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[1] *The Amarakoṣa in Tibet*, New Delhi, 1965, p. 14.

[2] Tucci, G., The Fifth Dalai Lama as a Sanskrit Scholar, *Sino-Indian Studies* II.3, 4, Liebenthal Festschrift, pp. 235 ff.

During the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, there was a period of considerable stagnation in Indic studies in Tibet. In the 18th century, however, we find the obvious signs of a revival of interest in Sanskrit[3]. The evidence that would enable us to explain this renewed interest is still insufficient. One factor might have been the Newar artisan-merchant community resident in Tibet.

The Sanskritization of Newar culture had been in process for several centuries. One of the more important developments had been the imposition of caste on Buddhist Newar society and the relegation of the artisan-merchant groups to a position in the hierarchy not only ritually but also socially inferior to that of their traditional family priests.

Certain members of these Uray castes with business interests in Tibet gradually were coming to favour the Tibetan forms of Buddhism which gave them greater scope for religious activity than the more rigid Newar form. We find a number of cases in 18th century biographical materials where Uray Newars were ordained as Buddhist monks in Tibet. This would have been impossible in Nepal where the religious establishments and monasteries were the hereditary preserves of the upper castes, the Gubhajus and Bares. In Tibet, however, the Uray was often honoured and courted by great lamas as much for his talents as a craftsman as for his sometimes not inconsiderable wealth. Si-tu's relations with his Newar students and friends is a case in point. As such relationships developed, one notices a realization on the part of sensitive lamas that these Newar Buddhists with their older heritage of Sanskrit learning might have something more to offer. One of Si-tu's lifelong interests was *śilpaśāstra* and the techniques of painting and casting, an area in which these Newar artisans, the Urays and Bares, were unrivalled. He probably quickly realized that these same Newars had something to offer him in the field of linguistic and literary studies. Si-tu gave as well as took: we find him encouraging a friend and student to translate some works from Tibetan into the language of Nepal.

Finally, we should note that when Si-tu and his contemporaries went outside Tibet for studies, they almost invariably went to the Kathmandu Valley where they found a considerable number of learned pandits. Si-tu, for all his interest in India, never fulfilled his dream of visiting India[4].

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[3] Lokesh Chandra mentions several of these 18th century Sanskrit works in the preface to the *Amarakoṣa in Tibet*.

[4] Si-tu was especially interested in the geography of India. In his diary for the year 1749 (p. 283) he has recorded the names of 56 states or ruling dynasties in India with notes on the location of some of these provinces.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SI-TU

The diaries of Si-tu are one of the important sources for the intellectual history of the 18th century Lamaist world. While this work is certainly not unique[5], it is one of the clearest pieces of evidence for demonstrating the intricate intellectual relationships that existed between the important scholars who were Si-tu's close contemporaries. These thinkers gave birth to a splendid cultural renaissance that reached its fullest flower in 19th century Kham. Unlike their intellectual descendants who were largely from Eastern Tibet, the associates of Si-tu came from Mongolia and Bhutan, from Western Tibet and the farthest Tibetan villages of the East.

It is interesting to note that the majority of the great savants of Si-tu's time were born within the space of a little more than a decade at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century: Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen[6] and Mdo-mkhar Tshe-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal[7] in 1697, Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu[8] in 1698, Si-tu and Bstan-'dzin-chos-rgyal[9] in 1700, Dpal-ldan-chos-skyoṅ[10] in 1702, Gnas-gsar Kun-legs[11] in 1704 and the Seventh Dalai Lama in 1708. The dates

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[5] I have appended to this introduction a short bibliography of the other more important biographical materials for the 18th century for the convenience of students of this period of Tibetan history.

[6] Zhu chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen (1697-1774) was the editor of the Derge edition of the Tanjur (1744). He was one of the great masters of Tibetan kāvya. His collected works fill ten volumes.

[7] Mdo-mkhar Tshe-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal was an important political figure of his time. He was the close associate and biographer of Pho-lha-nas. He was one of the four members of the first Tibetan Kashag (Council of Ministers) instituted in 1751. He is the author of a Sanskrit dictionary as well as a number of literary works like the *Gzhon nu zla med kyi rtogs brjod.*

[8] Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu (1698-1755) has recently been the subject of a short article by Mr. H. E. Richardson: "A Tibetan Antiquarian in the XVIIIth Century". *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Gangtok, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 5-8.

[9] Bstan-'dzin-chos-rgyal (1700-1767) was the 10th Rgyal-mkhan-po of Bhutan. He is the author of several biographies of eminent Bhutanese lamas and of the *Lho chos 'byuṅ*, a history of Buddhism in Bhutan. He is also the author of literary renderings of the life of the Buddha and of the collected biographies of the Sixteen Sthavira. These two works guarantee him a place among the best Tibetan stylists.

[10] Dpal-ldan-chos-skyoṅ (1702-1759) was the 33rd or 34th abbot of Ṅor and the founder of the Phan-khaṅ (Phan-bde-khaṅ-gsar) bla-braṅ. His autobiography is one of the most important sources for the religious life of Tibet in the 18th century.

[11] Gnas-gsar Kun-dga'-legs-pa'i-'byuṅ-gnas (1704-1760) was a famous Sa-skya-pa scholar and was connected with the printing activities of Sde dge.

for Mgon-po-skyabs of the Üjümüjin[12] and Zhe-chen druṅ-yig[13] are as yet unknown, but it would appear that they too were born during this period.

There was considerable contact between these great scholars. We find Si-tu completing his famous treatise of Tibetan grammar at the behest of Mdo-mkhar zhabs-druṅ and Mgon-po-skyabs dispatching to Tibet a manuscript of his *Rgya nag chos 'byuṅ* for criticism by Si-tu and Kaḥ-thog. There was not yet that degree of scholarly collaboration that would in time make possible the great compilations like the *Rñiṅ ma'i rgyud 'bum*, the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, the *Sgrub thabs kun btus* and the *Rgyud sde kun btus*; but one can already detect the beginnings.

Si-tu remained for almost fifty years at the centre of the scholastic life of the lamaist world. His influence on the following three or four generations was enormous. Koṅ-sprul, Mkhyen-brtse, Dpal-sprul and Mi-pham were all, in some way, Si-tu's heirs.

Because Si-tu was converted to the *gzhan-stoṅ* doctrine of the Jo-naṅ-pa through the efforts of Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu, that teaching spread throughout Eastern Tibet. The trend of the previous century was effectively reversed. The *gzhan-stoṅ* position had been branded as heresy, the great monasteries of the Jo-naṅ-pa confiscated and turned into Dge-lugs-pa establishments, books by *gzhan-stoṅ* philosophers prohibited and placed under government seal by the Fifth Dalai Lama: now the *gzhan-stoṅ* took a new lease of life because Si-tu espoused the position. The prohibition against the copying and printing of the Jo-naṅ-pa books would continue for just a hundred years after Si-tu's death[14], yet the doctrine spread and its following increased.

Si-tu's monastery at Dpal-spuṅs produced a whole school of philosophers. It produced a generation of talented physicians who would dominate the medical field in Tibet for a generation to come. The renewed interest in the grammatic sciences, in history, in technology and in Chinese and Indian systems of astronomy and astrology is one of Si-tu's most important legacies to Tibet.

What made Si-tu so influential? Besides his innate genius, one of the factors was his birth in Derge during the "Golden Age" of that princi-

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[12] Mgon-po-skyabs was a Mongol scholar interested in lexicography. He is reputed to have known four languages: Mongol, Tibetan, Chinese and Sanskrit. His most famous work is the *Rgya nag chos 'byuṅ*, a history of Buddhism in China.

[13] Zhe-chen druṅ-yig Bstan-'dzin rgyal-mtshan (*fl.* 1759-1771) is best known for his Sanskrit lexicon, *Prajñ*[illegible].

[14] In 1874, the Zhwa-lu Ri-sbug sprul-sku Blo-gsal-bstan-skyoṅ was granted permission to reopen the printery at Dga'-ldan Phun-tshogs-gliṅ for printing the Jo-naṅ books.

pality[15]. A second factor was the death of both the Zhwa-nag and Zhwa-dmar lamas in the same year, 1732; this left Si-tu the ranking and most influential lama of the Karma-pa sect[16].

Si-tu was born on the 17th day of the 11th month of the Earth-Hare Year, a date which probably corresponds to 1700[17]. He was recognized as the Si-tu[18] incarnation by the 8th Zhwa-dmar, Dpal-chen-chos-kyi-don-'grub (1695-1732), who bestowed upon him the name Chos-kyi-'byuṅ-gnas-phrin-las-kun-khyab-ye-śes-dpal-bzaṅ-po. When Si-tu received the vows of an *upāsaka* from the Zhwa-dmar, he was given the name Karma-bstan-pa'i-ñin-byed-gtsug-lag-chos-kyi-snaṅ-ba. In his literary works he uses these names or detachable parts with seemingly little method. This could result in confusion in the attribution of his literary works.

In 1712, he left Derge for studies in Central Tibet and did not return to Kham until 1715. Si-tu continued his studies in Kham during the period 1715-1721. In 1720, Si-tu and Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu first met. This event was the beginning of a fruitful friendship that would continue until Kaḥ-thog's death.

Si-tu returned to Central Tibet in 1721[19] and spent the year 1722 travelling there. The following year, he accompanied the Zhwa-nag and Zhwa-dmar to Nepal[20]. The Zhwa-dmar had been born in Helambu in Nepal. En route to Nepal, Si-tu visited the former seat of Tāranātha, Rtag-brtan-phun-tshogs-gliṅ. and Jo-naṅ[21]. This visit was obviously a formative experience for the young Si-tu's intellectual development. He returned to Tibet in 1724 via Western Tibet.

After his return to Kham, he enjoyed the favour of the King of Derge, Bstan-pa-tshe-riṅ (1678-1738), who built for him the monastery of Dpal-spuṅs which became the new seat (*gdan-sa*) of the Si-tu line.

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[15] Kolmaš, J. *A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge*, Prague, Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1968, pp. 32-40.

[16] I have appended (Appendix II) lists of the most important incarnation series of the Karma-pa sect.

[17] The official Karma-pa prophecy of Si-tu's rebirth states that he would be reborn in the Iron-Dragon Year (1700). Si-tu indicates that the discrepancy results from the fact that the calendar that had been proposed by the Sde-srid Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho and adopted by the Lhasa government had not by 1699/1700 become generally adopted in Kham (p. 7).

[18] The Si-tu designating this series is derived from the Chinese title *Kuan tiṅ ta'i si tu*, that several of the early lamas of this lineage had received from the Ming Dynasty.

[19] p. 73.

[20] pp. 113-124.

[21] p. 104.

The years 1731-33 were taken up with the enormous task of editing and correcting the sheets for carving the Derge edition of the Kanjur. The reputation that this edition enjoys for critical work is a testament to Si-tu's careful scholarship. He completed the *dkar-chag* to this edition in 1733 and the first copies were printed.

After the tedium of the editing of the Kanjur was finished, Si-tu turned to a project that was to occupy him for the rest of his life: the reexamination and revision of all existing translations of the Sanskrit grammatical, lexicographical and poetical *śāstras* that constitute the basis for Tibetan philological studies. It was an ambitious project and one fraught with considerable difficulties. The fact that Si-tu accomplished as much as he did is truly remarkable. His diaries are filled with his quest for Sanskrit manuscripts. The results of his philological work fill the majority of the volumes of his *gsuṅ-'bum*. His interests in Sanskrit translation were not confined only to the philological works; he tried his skill at translating or revising a few important tantric works.

Meanwhile, the great publication project of the House of Derge continued; but of the chief editorship honour had fallen into other hands. The edition of the *Sa skya bka' 'bum* was completed in 1737. In 1744, the first copies of the new edition of the Tanjur were printed. Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen was responsible for editing and correcting the sheets for printing; he wrote the *dkar-chag* which remains one of the finest treatments of the contents of Tanjur ever produced.

It must have been Si-tu's intention that the awkward and often erroneous translations of the philological and literary works of the Tanjur should ultimately be replaced by his new translations which demonstrate a profounder knowledge of Sanskrit and a critical use of later commentaries not available to the translators of times past.

Alas, the great design of Si-tu was not to be realized. Most of his *gsuṅ-'bum* which contains the new translations, editions and interlineal annotations is marred by the careless editing and checking of the sheets from which the blocks would be carved. Si-tu's numerous nephews who came to power at Dpal-spuṅs after his death allowed the sheets to be passed on to the printer without even a superficial reading. The result is that much of Si-tu's work has been negated by the carelessness of his heirs. This is one of the famous ironical stories of the Tibetan tradition. The *Sgra mdo* section of the Derge Tanjur that Si-tu had hoped to correct and to replace contains in some cases better readings than one finds in Si-tu.

In 1735-36, Si-tu visited Lhasa to examine some Sanskrit manuscripts and

was received cordially by Pho-lha-nas and Mdo-mkhar zhabs-druṅ. After his return to the East, we find him very much on the move. He had gained a considerable reputation as a successful physician and was in great demand at the courts of the princes and clerics of the Khampa States.

He had become interested in Chinese traditions of astronomy and astrology and he seems to have attempted some translations. Had Si-tu learned Chinese? Si-tu also appears to have been an accomplished painter; his thaṅkas were highly prized by his disciples and patrons.

In 1748, Si-tu had the opportunity to pay another visit to Nepal[22]. It is possible that he went entrusted with some official commission from the Tibetan Government[23]. He was received warmly by Jayaprakāśamalla of Kathmandu (1736-1768). Raṇajitamalla of Bhatgaon (1722-1769) presented him with a manuscript *Amarakoṣa* commentary. His account of his meetings with Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha at the Gorkhā Fortress is fascinating yet distressing because of its brevity[24]. During this stay in Nepal, he was able to complete a translation of a short *Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa*[25]. In 1750, he returned to Kham via Tibet.

He again visited Lhasa for the last time in 1762[26]; the following year he set out for home. The last decade of his life was spent in travels in Eastern Tibet. He visited Mi-ñag, Rgyal-mo-roṅ and even 'Jaṅ Sa-tham. He was constantly busy with his literary and scholarly activities. We find him writing in 1769[27] the postfaces (*par-byaṅ*) for the new Derge editions of the *Sman gzhuṅ cha lag bco brgyad*[28] of G.yu-thog Yon-tan-mgon-po, the *Bye ba riṅ bsrel*[29] of Zur-mkhar A-pho chos-rje and the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*[30]. These last years are the most detailed in their treatment.

On the 24th of the 2nd Tibetan month of the Wood-Sheep Year (1774) Si-tu passed away. His life had been extraordinarily rich and the list of his students contains many of the greatest minds of the next generation.

No list of the contents of the *gsuṅ-'bum*[31] of Si-tu has yet become available.

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[22] pp. 263-270.

[23] p. 267.

[24] p. 270.

[25] p. 267.

[26] p. 438.

[27] p. 602.

[28] Lokesh Chandra, Les imprimeries tibétaines de Drepung, Derge et Pepung, Journal Asiatique, 1961, pp. 503-517, Derge, no. 109.

[29] Ibid., no. 108.

[30] Ibid., no 99.

[31] Ibid., Pepung, no. 2

Separate prints of some of his more important works are available. In addition to the Tibetan translations of the *Amarakosa* and its commentary, the *Kāmadhenu* by Subhūticandra, I have seen a bilingual edition of the *Amarakosa*[32], a Pepung edition of the famous *Sum rtags* commentary[33], a critical edition of the *Sa mtha'i rnam dbye* of 'Phreṅ-po gter-ston Śes-rab-'od-zer (1518-1584)[34], an edition with explanatory notes of the *Dag yig ṅag sgron* of Dpal-khaṅ lo-tsā-ba Ṅag-dbaṅ-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho (16th century)[35], an important history of the Karma-pa sect[36] and the *dkar-chag* to the Derge Kanjur[37].

THE DIARIES OF SI-TU AND THEIR IMPORTANCE

The text reproduced here comprises 371 ff. of Volume A, the last volume of Si-tu's *gsuṅ-'bum*. The first part (pp. 1-124) covers the period from his birth to his 24th year, i.e. 1723, and was written by himself at the behest of the 8th Zhwa-dmar, the 12th Zhwa-nag and Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu. This is the actual autobiography proper; however, as it is almost entirely chronological in arrangement, it supplements the diaries almost perfectly.

The diaries (pp. 124-726) cover the period from 1724 to the author's death in 1774, spanning almost exactly half a century. They were edited and arranged from the random notations made by Si-tu in his yearly almanacs. The editor was a disciple of Si-tu, Bai-lo Tshe-dbaṅ-kun-khyab[38]. In the diaries Si-tu mentions the day to day happenings that he wanted to remember: natural occurrences such

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[32] Slob dpon 'chi med seṅ ges mdzad pa'i miṅ daṅ rtags rjes su bstan pa'i bstan bcos 'chi med mdzod ces bya ba'i gzhuṅ skad gñis śan sbyar ba, ff. 121, Margin: Ṅa Mdzod gzhuṅ. Bilingual edition dated 1764.

[33] Yul gaṅs can pa'i brda yaṅ dag par sbyor ba'i bstan bcos kyi bye brag sum cu pa daṅ rtags kyi 'jug pa'i gzhuṅ gi rnam par bśad pa mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan mu tig phreṅ mdzes, ff. 86, Margin: Cha Sum stags. Completed in 1744 at the behest of Mdo-mkhar Tshe-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal.

[34] Bod kyi brda dag sa mtha'i rnam dbye rab gsal sgron ma, ff. 9, Margin: Tha sa. Critical edition of the text.

[35] Bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa ṅag gi sgron ma, ff. 23, Margin: Tha Ṅag sgron. Critical edition of the text based on the corrupt Potala edition.

[36] Bsgrub rgyud karma kam tshaṅ brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu śel gyi phreṅ ba, ff. 341, Margin: Da Zla ba.

[37] Bde bar gśegs pa'i bka' gaṅs can gyi brdas draṅs pa'i phyi mo'i tshogs ji sñed pa par du bsgrubs pa'i tshul las ñe bar brtsams pa'i gtam bzaṅ po blo ldan mos pa'i kunda yoṅs su kha bye ba'i zla 'od gzhon nu'i khri śiṅ, ff. 171, Edition: Sde-dge. Completed in 1733.

[38] An alternative spelling, 'Be-lo, was common in Kham. The full name of this editor was Karma-tshe-dbaṅ-kun-khyab-ṅes-don-bstan-'phel.

as earth tremors and eclipses, his dreams, initiations received and bestowed, his correspondence, medical patients treated, literary works finished and occasionally longer passages that enable one to see a little of the human Si-tu.

One example relates to Si-tu's reception at the Fortress of Gorkhā. There he met Jayamaṅgala, a pandit from Benaras, with whom he had a lengthy discussion on Sanskrit grammar. The pandit praised Si-tu's learning profusely noting that a scholar of Si-tu's accomplishments would rate seven parasols in India. After quoting the compliments of the pandit, he wryly adds that he shouldn't be singing his own praises so much[39].

Bai-lo Tshe-dbaṅ-kun-khyab was relatively careless in his editing. His knowledge of orthography leaves much to be desired. In at least two cases, he has given the element designation in the year headings incorrectly[40]; since he had only to copy the year designations on each diary after he had arranged them, we have no other choice but to suppose that many of the other orthographical and grammatical mistakes should not be blamed on the copyists and block makers.

At the end of the diaries (pp. 726-740) the editor has written an account of the death and funeral ceremonies of Si-tu and appended a list of the teachers and students of the subject. For the convenience of historians who might want to use this text, I have prepared a chronological outline. The page number indicates where the text for the particular year begins in the facsimile edition.

I. THE BIOGRAPHY

Birth and early youth	1699-1707	1
sa byi	1708	18
sa glaṅ	1709	20
lcags stag	1710	21
lcags yos	1711	22
chu 'brug	1712	26
chu sbrul	1713	32
śiṅ rta	1714	41
śiṅ lug	1715	44
me spre	1716	49
me bya	1717	51
sa khyi	1718	54
sa phag	1719	58
lcags byi	1720	62

[39] p. 270.

[40] Please see the table below. The erroneous elements have been noted in the form in which they occur and corrected: chu (i.e. śiṅ) bya.

The importance of this work as a historical source derives from the remarkable powers of observation and recording practiced by Si-tu. To demonstrate some of the possibilities of this autobiography as a primary historical source, I should like to draw the reader's attention to the light which it might throw on the history of Nepal. Although the references to Nepal are scattered throughout the volume, many of these passages seem interesting enough to warrant calling them to the notice of students of Nepalese history. I shall treat only two of them here.

(1) During Si-tu's first visit to Nepal in 1723, he was received by Jagajjayamalla of Kathmandu (1722-1736)[41]. A lasting friendship was formed between Si-tu and the Kathmandu King that endured until the death of Jagajjaya. The diaries give ample evidence of exchange of letters and gifts. We observe Si-tu receiving the Sanskrit manuscripts that gladdened his heart, apparently as gifts

[41] The dates and successions have been taken from D.R. Regmi's *Medieval Nepal*, part II, Calcutta, 1966.

sent by his royal friend.

The picture that emerges of Jagajjaya is quite different from the shadowy figure of the Newar Chronicles. We see a warm and shy scholar-king. Si-tu even mentions a commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* written by his friend. This portrait of Jagajjaya calls to mind Bhūpatīndramalla of Bhatgaon (1696-1722), a gifted Maithili poet.

An entry under 1736[42] records the arrival of a messenger to inform Si-tu of his royal friend's demise and to ask for the performance of rituals for the benefit of the departed king.

(2) Another interesting passage describes Si-tu's visit in Rgyal-zla of the Water-Hare Year (1723/4) to Patan where he was received in audience by the infant king[43]. The biography gives the name of this ruler quite clearly as Viṣṇuprakāśamalla. The King of Patan at this time according to the chronicles should, however, have been Yogaprakāśa (1722-1729); Viṣṇumalla did not ascend the throne until 1729. Could Si-tu have made a mistake? According to Regmi, there are coins in the name of Yogaprakāśa dated N. S. 842 (1722) and inscriptions dated 844 (1724), 845 (1725) and 848 (1728). He does, however, mention in passing a published inscription of Yogamati in which "...the name of the ruling authority is absent unlike in others where as a rule it is always preserved. But Viṣṇumalla who followed Yogaprakāśa is profusely lauded."

Could it possibly be that Viṣṇumalla was placed on the throne for a short time in 1723/4 and was again replaced in 1724 by Yogaprakāśa? Could it be that the inscription that Regmi mentions dates to this period?

There are a number of puzzling and intriguing statements in these diaries. Perhaps, in time, we shall be able to identify such personages as Bachur Ojā *alias* Viṣṇupati, the Tirhutiya Brahmin who taught Si-tu Sanskrit.

Si-tu's account of his visit to Jo-nan and Rtag-brtan in 1723[44] is another intriguing addition to our knowledge. He notes that even though Rtag-brtan Phun-tshogs-gliṅ had been converted into a Dge-lugs-pa teaching college in 1658 there were a number of older monks who seemed to be secretly practicing the Jo-naṅ-pa heresies. He relates an account of the circumstances involved in the campaign against the Jo-naṅ-pa carried out by the Fifth Dalai Lama. The villain according to Si-tu was Smon-'gro-pa, the teacher of *kāvya* to the Fifth Dalai Lama. Smon-'gro-pa apparently had received certain Jo-naṅ-pa teachings, but he was the victim of some irrational jealousy against his former teachers. He methodically

[42] p. 170.

[43] p. 122.

[44] pp. 104-105.

slandered the Jo-naṅ-pa to the Fifth Dalai Lama and urged him to confiscate their estates and convents and to destroy the great silver reliquary that contained the remains of Tāranātha.

At the time when Si-tu visited Rtag-brtan, all the manuscripts and xylograph prints of the Jo-naṅ-pa books were under seal. With few exceptions such as the *Sgrub thabs rin 'byuṅ*, it was prohibited to print from the numerous blocks at Rtag-brtan Phun-tshogs-gliṅ. Si-tu laments sadly the tragedy that had befallen the Jo-naṅ-pa tradition. When he arrived at the Sku-'bum of Jo-naṅ, however, he was quite amazed to find a colony of about five hundred nuns still adhering to the old tradition.

The style of the work is very terse, a situation that has probably been dictated by the limitations of space in the diaries in which he was making his notes. Bai-lo, as we have previously pointed out, leaves much to be desired as an editor. Spelling mistakes abound, especially in place names[45]; there are a number of non-literary grammatical structures. Considering all things, however, this work must be regarded as one of the more unusual and important Tibetan historical documents. Prof. Lokesh Chandra deserves our gratitude for making this rare work available.

E. Gene Smith

[45] For example, we find Dṅul-chu rendered Rṅun-chu and Stag-bstan instead of Rtag-brtan.

APPENDIX I

SOME RARE BIOGRAPHIES RELEVANT TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Professor Luciano Petech has shown what can be done with Tibetan biographical materials in his excellent monograph on Tibetan history of the first half of the 18th century[16]. With the publication of Si-tu'- diaries one more important source now becomes available. There are a number of other such interesting works which are worthy of thorough investigation. We can only hope that these texts will gradually become available in editions like the one in hand. I have not attempted a comprehensive bibliography but only to give some idea of the amount of material that exists relating to the times of Si-tu.

1. Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen (1697-1774). Chos smra ba'i bande tshul khrims rin chen du 'bod pa'i skye ba phal pa'i rkan 'thun dge sdig 'dres ma'i las kyi yal ga phan tshun du 'dzins par bde sdug gi lo 'dab dus kyi rgyal mos re mos su bsgyur ba. ff. 181 (ff. 278-458 of volume Ta of the *gsuṅ 'bum* in 10 volumes). Autobiography with supplement (ff. 155-181) written by Ṅag-dbaṅ-dge-legs-lhun-grub *alias* Mkhas-pa'i-ñi-gzhon. Edition: Sde-dge.
2. Mdo-mkhar Tshe-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal (1697-1763). (Bka' blon rtogs brjod) ff. 69. Autobiography. Edition: Lcags-zam Zhol-khaṅ.
3. Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu (1698-1755). Dpal rig 'dzin chen po rdo rje tshe dbaṅ nor bu'i zhabs kyi rnam par thar pa'i cha śas brjod pa ṅo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho. Manuscript. Author: Brag-dkar rta-so sprul-sku Chos-kyi-dbaṅ-phyug *alias* Mi-pham-'chi-med-grub-pa-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, b. 1775, who used the author's collected papers.
4. Phan-khaṅ Dpal-ldan-chos-skyon (1702-1759). Graṅs med tshe rabs dus nas dkar nag sbags pa las kyi sa bon gyis bskyed pa cir snaṅ 'khrul pa'i bag chags ar 'thas su raṅ gis ji ltar myoṅ ba'i rtogs pa brjod pa sna tshogs ljon pa stug po'i 'khri śiṅ. 2 vols. (E: ff. 417. Waṁ: ff. 492). Autobiography; edited with a supplement by Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen (1697-1774). Edition: Sde-dge.
5. Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-śes-dpal-'byor (1704-1788). Mkhan po erte ni paṇḍi tar grags pa'i spyod tshul brjod pa sgra 'dzin bcud len. ff. 294. Autobiography. Edition: ? Mkhar-sṅon (Köke qoto).
6. Gnas-gsar Kun-dga'-legs-pa'i-'byuṅ-gnas (1704-1760). Khyab bdag rdo

[16] Petech, Luciano. *China and Tibet in the 18th Century*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1950.

rje 'chaṅ ṅur smrig gi bla gos 'chaṅ ba dpal gnas gsar ba chen po 'jam mgon bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa legs pa'i mtshan gyi zhal sṅa nas kyi rnam par thar pa ṅo mtshar rab 'byams. ff. 150 (ff. 1-150 of vol. Ca of the *Lam 'bras slob bśad* collection in 17 volumes). Author: Sa-skya bdag-chen Kun-dga'-blo-gros. Edition: Sde-dge.

7. Tshe-mchog-gliṅ Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan (1713-1791). Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rigs daṅ dkyil 'khor rgya mtsho'i mṅa' bdag bka' drin gsum ldan yoṅs 'dzin paṇḍi ta chen po rje btsun ye śes rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ po'i sku gsuṅ thugs kyi rtogs pa brjod pa thub bstan padmo 'byed pa'i ñin byed. ff. 272. Author: 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mtsho, *Dalai Lama VIII* (1758-1804). Edition: Skyid-śod Sku-'bum-thaṅ, 1946.

8. Lcaṅ-skya Ye-śes-bstan-pa'i-sgron-me (1717-1786). Khyab bdag rdo rje sems dpa'i ṅo bo dpal ldan bla ma dam pa ye śes bstan pa'i sgron me dpal bzaṅ po'i rnam par thar pa mdo tsam brjod pa dge ldan bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan. ff. 414. Author: Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzaṅ-chos-kyi-ñi-ma (1737-1802). Edition: Zhol (volume Ka of Thu'u-bkwan's *gsuṅ-'bum*).

9. Dkar-brgyud-'phrin-las-śiṅ-rta, *'Brug-chen VII* (1718-1766). Manuscript lacks title and colophon.

10. Dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbaṅ-po, *'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa II* (1728-1791). Rje btsun dkon mchog 'jigs med dbaṅ po'i rnam par thar pa rgyal sras rgya mtsho'i 'jug ṅogs. ff. 259. Author: Guṅ-thaṅ Dkon-mchog-bstan-pa'i-sgron-me (1762-1823). Edition: Zhol (in volume Ṅa of Guṅ-thaṅ's *gsuṅ-'bum*).

11. Sgo-maṅ mkhan-chen Blo-bzaṅ-chos-dar (1732-1812). Mkhas btsun bzaṅ po'i bdag ñid sgo maṅ mkhan rin po che blo bzaṅ chos dar gyi rtogs brjod gzur gnas mkhas pa'i dga' ston. ff. 46. Author: Guṅ-thaṅ Dkon-mchog-bstan-pa'i-sgron-me (1762-1823). Edition: Zhol (in volume Ṅa of Guṅ-thaṅ's *gsuṅ-'bum*).

12. Mkhas-grub-bstan-'dzin (1743-1805). Ṅes don gyi mkhas grub chen po mkhas grub bstan 'dzin pa'i rtogs pa brjod pa legs tshogs sgo 'byed. ff. 46. Author: Guṅ-thaṅ Dkon-mchog-bstan-pa'i-sgron-me (1762-1823). Edition: Zhol (in volume Ca of the *gsuṅ-'bum* of Guṅ-thaṅ).

13. Tshul-khrim-bstan-pa'i-ñi-ma (1755-1817). Rje btsun bla ma dam pa tshul khrims bstan pa'i ñi ma dpal bzaṅ po'i rnam par thar pa nor bu'i do śal. ff. 108. Author: Guṅ-thaṅ Dkon-mchog-bstan-pa'i-sgron-me (1762-1823). Edition: Zhol (in volume Ca of the *gsuṅ-'bum* of Guṅ-thaṅ).

APPENDIX II

THE MAJOR INCARNATION SERIES OF THE KARMA-PA SECT[47]

Almost ten years have elapsed since Mr. Hugh Richardson first published lists of the successive rebirths of the Rgyal-dbaṅ Karma-pa (Zhwa-nag-pa), Zhwa-dmar, Gnas-naṅ Dpa'-bo and Si-tu[48]. Since that time, a considerable amount of new information has come to light. A number of new Karma-pa historical materials have become available; almost all of the important incarnations of the sect have found refuge in exile. They or their tutors have stored in their memories lists of the previous rebirths of the line and oral information concerning their deeds.

Since it might be useful to historians working in the Tibetan field to have available some of this new data, we have included here revised lists of the chief lamas of the Karma-pa sect with their dates of birth and death where possible. There are still many problems; but the numbering and dates of the Zhwa-nag and Zhwa-dmar lines can now be considered established. The lists of the Si-tu, Dpa'-bo and Rgyal-tshab are accurate insofar as the names and numbers are concerned. The dates are, however, problematical. With the publication of more materials like Si-tu's diaries, these problems will eventually be solved.

I. THE ZHWA-NAG OR 'BLACK HAT' KARMA-PA SERIES OF STOD-LUN MTSHUR-PHU

1. Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Dpal-chos-kyi-grags-pa (1110-1193)
2. Karma-pakṣi (1206-1283)
3. Raṅ-byuṅ-rdo-rje (1284-1339)
4. Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1340-1383)
5. De-bzhin-gśegs-pa (1384-1415)
6. Mthoṅ-ba-don-ldan (1416-1452/3)
7. Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1454-1506)
8. Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (1507-1554)
9. Dbaṅ-phyug-rdo-rje (1556-1603)
10. Chos-dbyiṅs-rdo-rje (1604-1674)
11. Ye-śes-rdo-rje (1676-1702)

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[47] I should like to express my thanks to the Tibetan scholars who have helped to compile these lists: the Dezhung Rimpoche of the Inner Asia Project of the University of Washington, the present Pawo and Ongan Rimpoches of Darjeeling, the guardian of the present Situ of Rumtek, Dazang and Sabeu Rimpoches of Kathmandu, the father of the present Gyaltshab of Gangtok and, finally, to Topgah and His Holiness the Gyalwang Karmapa of Rumtek.

[48] Richardson, H. E. The Karma-pa Sect, Part II, *JRAS*, 1959, Parts 3-4, pp 1-18.

12. Byaṅ-chub-rdo-rje (1703-1732)
13. Bdud-'dul-rdo-rje (1733-1797)
14. Theg-mchog-rdo-rje (1797-1867)
15. Mkha'-khyab-rdo-rje (1871-1922)
16. Raṅ-byuṅ-ye-śes Rig-pa'i-rdo-rje (1924-)

II. THE ZHWA-DMAR OR 'RED HAT' KARMA-PA SERIES OF YAṄS-PA-CAN

0. Zhwa-dmar Bkra-śis-grags-pa[49] (d. 1282)
1. Grags-pa-seṅge (1283-1349)
2. Mkha'-spyod-dbaṅ-po (1350-1405)
3. Chos-dpal-ye-śes (1406-1452)
4. Chos-grags-ye-śes (1453-1524)
5. Dkon-mchog-yan-lag (1525-1583)
6. Gar-dbaṅ Chos-kyi-dbaṅ-phyug (1584-1630)
7. Ye-śes-sñiṅ-po (1631-1694)
8. Dpal-chen Chos-kyi-don-grub (1695-1732)
9. Dkon-mchog-dge-ba'i-'byuṅ-gnas (1733-1741)
10. Chos-grub-rgya-mtsho *alias* Dkon-mchog-chos-kyi-ñi-ma (1742-1792)
11. 'Jam-dbyaṅs rin-po-che (d. ca. 1947)[50]
12. An infant who was never named (b. 1948)
13. Mi-pham-smra-ba'i-go-cha (1952-)

III. THE SI-TU OF LHO KARMA-DGON AND LATER DPAL-SPUṄS[51]

A. 'Gro-mgon Saṅs-rgyas-ras-chen (1088-1158)
B. Rnal-'byor Ye-śes-dbaṅ-po (1220-1281)
C. Ri-'go-ba Ratna-bhadra (1281-1343)

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[49] This lama is mentioned in a number of older lists but for some reason is not reckoned in the numbering. He is omitted from Topgah's list.

[50] Because of the complicity of Chos-grub-rgya-mtsho in the Nepalese invasion of Tibet, Yaṅs-pa-can and all of the property of the Zhwa-dmar bla-braṅ were handed over to the Kun-bde gliṅ bla-braṅ of the regent. The Tibetan Government prohibited the recognition of further rebirths of the line. Occasionally, there were attempts to recognize a rebirth of the Zhwa dmar, but the political situation was such that the installation could never take place.

When the saintly 'Jam-dbyaṅs Rin-po-che died a number of years ago, the present Rgyal-dbaṅ Karma-pa began a suit to obtain recognition of 'Jam-dbyaṅs Rin-po-che's rebirth as the Zhwa-dmar. He was ultimately successful and the Tibetan authorities permitted him to recognize Mi-pham-smra-ba'i-go cha as the 13th Zhwa dmar.

[51] The numbering of the Si-tu line is complicated because there are several traditions. The current theory prevalent among scholars of the Karma-pa sect counts Padma-ñin-byed-dbaṅ-po to have been the 13th of the line. This theory considers the four teachers marked A-D to have been the first through the fourth and numbers the succeeding teachers consecu-

D. Si-tu druṅ-che Sa-ta'i-zhiṅ-chen (1345-1376)

1. Si-tu Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1377-1448)
   Regent during minority of De-bzhin-gśegs-pa
2. Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal (1450-1497)[52]
3. Bkra-śis-dpal-'byor (1498-1541)
4. Chos-kyi-go-cha (1542- ?)
5. Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan Dge-legs-dpal-bzaṅ (? -1657?)
6. Mi-pham-phrin-las-rab-brtan (1658?-1682)
7. Legs-bśad-smra-ba'i-ñi-ma (1683-1698)[53]
8. Chos-kyi-'byuṅ-gnas (1700-1774)
9. Padma-ñin-byed-dbaṅ-po (1774-1853?)
10. Padma-kun-bzaṅ (1854?-1885)
11. Padma-dbaṅ-mchog-rgyal-po (1886-1952)
12. Padma-don-yod-ñin-byed-dbaṅ-po (1954-)

THE SI-TU OF KAḤ-THOG[54]

9. Chos-kyi-blo-gros
10. Chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho, a nephew of Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbaṅ-po (1820-1892)
11. Name unknown: born in the family of Rgya-nag-tshaṅ of Skye-rgu-mdo

IV. THE RGYAL-TSHAB SERIES OF STOD-LUṄ MTSHUR-PHU[55]

1. Go-śrī Dpal-'byor-don-grub (*ca.* 1427-*ca.* 1489): became regent of Mtshur-phu at the death of Mthoṅ-ba-don-ldan (1452/3)
2. Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal (*ca.* 1490-*ca.* 1518); became regent at the age of 17 at the death of Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1506)

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tively. The famous Karma-pa scholar, Mi-ñag Gaṅs-dkar Karma-bśad-sgrub-chos-kyi-seṅge, however, considered Padma-ñin-byed-dbaṅ-po to have been the 9th of the line. It is this tradition we have followed here.

[52] The dates that have been used have largely been taken from a manuscript called the *Kwan tiṅ ta'i si tu rim byon rnams kyi mtshan tho gzigs bde don bsdus me loṅ* in the possession of Ongan Rimpoche of Darjeeling. This manuscript is quite corrupt, however, and has been checked against a number of other sources.

[53] This lama is called Legs-bśad-smra-ba'i seṅge in the chronological list belonging to Ongan. Si-tu gives his name, however, probably more correctly. He was the son of Mgon-po-lhun-grub, the chieftain of Gliṅ-tshaṅ. He was recognized but never installed as his father refused to give him to the monks of Lho Karma-dgon.

[54] After the death of Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byuṅ-gnas, a second incarnation was recognized and a bla-braṅ established at Kaḥ-thog.

[55] The list of the Rgyal tshab line has been taken from a manuscript entitled *Mtshur phu rgyal tshab sku phreṅ gi rnam thar mdor bsdus* in the possession of Bstan-'dzin-blo-

3. Grags-pa-dpal-'byor (*ca.* 1519-*ca.* 1549)
   Student of Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (1507-1554)
4. Grags-pa-don-grub (*ca.* 1550-*ca.* 1617)
5. Grags-pa-mchog-dbyaṅs (1618-1658)
6. Nor-bu-bzaṅ-po (*ca.* 1659-*ca.* 1698)
7. Dkon-mchog-'od-zer (*ca.* 1699-*ca.* 1765)
8. Chos-dpal-bzaṅ-po (*ca.* 1766-*ca.* 1820)
9. Grags-pa-ye-śes (*ca.* 1821-*ca.* 1876)
10. Bstan-pa'i-ñi-ma (*ca.* 1877-*ca.* 1901)
11. Grags-pa-rgya-mtsho (*ca.* 1902-*ca.* 1959)
12. Karma-grags-pa-bstan-pa-yar-'phel *alias* Bstan-'dzin-phrin-las-chos-kyi-ñi-ma

V. THE DPA'-BO SERIES OF GNAS-NAṄ[56]

1. Chos-dbaṅ-lhun-grub (1440-1503)
2. Gtsug-lag-phreṅ-ba (1504-1566)
3. Gtsug-lag-rgya-mtsho (1567-1633)
4. Gtsug-lag-kun-bzaṅ (1633-1649)
5. Gtsug-lag-phrin-las-rgya-mtsho (1649-1699)
6. Gtsug-lag-chos-kyi-don-grub (1701- ?)
7. Gtsug-lag-dga'-ba (? -1781)
8. Gtsug-lag-chos-kyi-rgyal-po
9. Gtsug-lag-ñin-byed (? -1911?)
10. Gtsug-lag-smra-ba'i-dbaṅ-phyug (1912-)

VI. THE TRE-HO ZHABS-DRUṄ SERIES OF GTSAṄ RTA-RNA

1. ?
2. ?
3. Karma-bstan-'dzin-dar-rgyas; contemporary with the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Sde-srid Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho
4. Byaṅ-chub-chos-kyi-dbaṅ-po.

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gros, father of the present Rgyal-tshab. It gives only the length of the lives of each of the incarnations.

[56] The list of the Dpa'-bo series of Lha-luṅ and later of Gnas-naṅ was given to me by the present Pawo Rimpoche in Darjeeling.

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